THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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NEWS FROM HUNGARY

BROUGHT BY AN AMERICAN VISITOR.

"How did I get to Hungary?

"There was no difficulty in getting from Switzerland," said our informant, "and in Vienna there is a Hungarian Communist Embassy. There I found the Soviet Ambassador, who was an old I.W.W. man from America. He arranged for me to go with him in the Red Train to Hungary.

"In the meantime I stayed a few days in Vienna, and gained the impression that the people there were very near the verge of revolution. Money in Austria is worth but one-fifth of its pre-war value, and the middle class has become so poor that it is indifferent to the future. The Moderate Socialists are endeavouring to stave off Revolution by means of reform. Adler says that, whatever happens, there must not be a revolution before the harvest, because Austria is in such desperate need of food. It is interesting to find Adler, so recently imprisoned for assassinating Count Sturgh, now an honoured legislator. Even the non-socialist middle class defend Adler's action.

"Hungary is short of food because of the devastation of the past and present war, because of the invading armies, because the railways are largely occupied by military requirements, because the people are fighting instead of producing. All estates over 200 acres in extent have been socialised: they are worked by those who were formerly employees upon them. A large part of the produce of these farms is sent to the cities. The small farmers who still remain are inclined to be suspicious of the new government; they are not yet Communists: they fear that the Soviet money may become valueless, and owing to the war and the blockade the cities are not able to supply the commodities which the farmers would like to have in exchange for their crops.

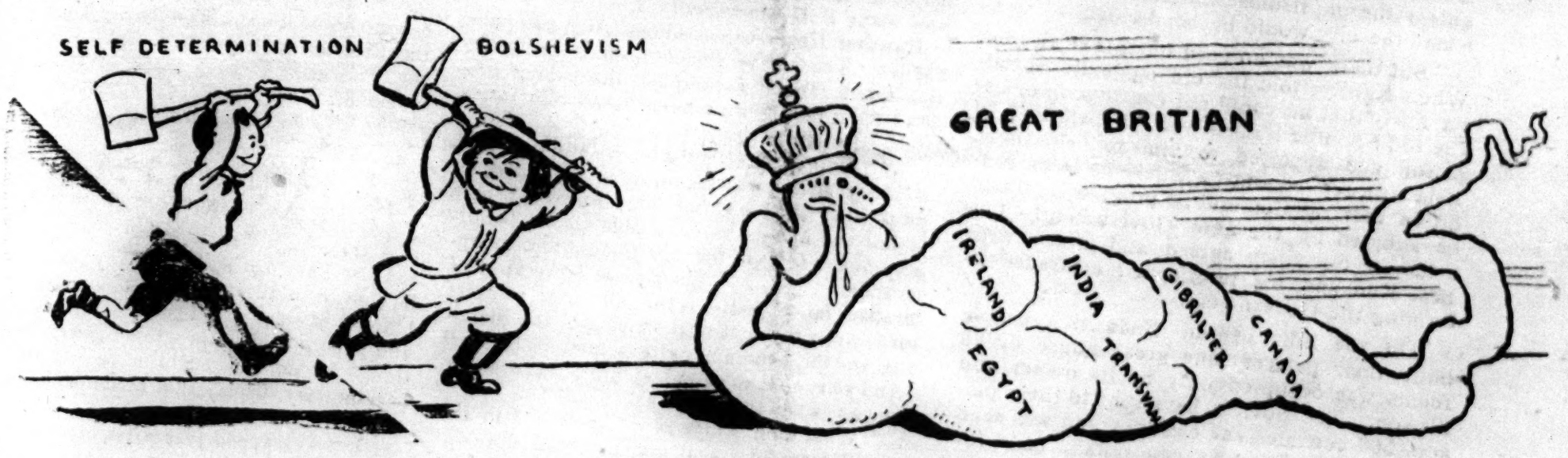
"What had I to eat?

"For breakfast I had a chunk of black bread and some imitation coffee—made probably from roasted grain, which I found just drinkable. Real coffee is unobtainable in Hungary because the Allies prevent all imports.

"At noon I had soup, a small piece of very

"I was disappointed to find that those engaged on unskilled work are paid less than those who have skilled, and therefore more interesting work to do. I had always thought that under Socialism either we should all share the uninteresting work or those who did it should work very short hours and be able to have splendid holidays. When I expressed my disappointment I was reminded that things are as yet in the early transition stages.

"I was greatly impressed by the Soviet Commissaries. They were all young: Bela Kun looks about 30, and Lukacs, the Commissary of Education, is 34: he said that he was one of the oldest in the government. They were all enthusiastic and hopeful. There could be no doubt of their honest idealism and desire to serve the people. They seemed to have complete confidence both in the Communist ideal and in their power to establish Communism and to make it a success. They have perfect confidence in the spread of the Workers' Revolution in all lands: they are always looking for new revolutions. In Bohe-



[From Good Morning.

"This is terrible. As it my digestion were not bad enough already,"

In Vienna the rich are unstinted: they have all, and more than all, that they need. The middle class people are pinched: I saw a hard working doctor sit down to a dish of potatoes as the principal meal of the day. The working class is literally starving. Herein one sees the outstanding difference between Vienna and Budapest. In Soviet Budapest also there is a shortage of food, but everyone has an equal share.

"I stayed at the Hotel Hungaria, where the Soviet Commissaries and their wives live. It is guarded by the Red Guards. There are machine guns at the doors and in all the corner rooms for fear of attack.

"The general shortage is to be found also in the Hotel Hungaria. Hungary had only one coal mine left to her when I was there: the other mines being situated in the territory which has been overrun by the invading armies and which the Big Four have ordered Hungary to surrender. To save coal the lights every where are kept burning low: and thus there was an air of gloom both indoors and out. Since I left Hungary the Red Army has won back two of the coal mines, and I heard that the people celebrated the event by dancing and general rejoicing. I could well understand their enthusiasm

poor meat,—once it was so bad I could not eat it,—some green vegetables, usually stringbeans, a thin piece of cake and a little jelly.

"For supper I had green vegetables and a piece of bread.

"The cafés are open for only 2 hours each day. I went to what was one of the most fashionable cafés in the old days. It was thronged with people, but they were drinking water! Slices of bread about three-quarters of an inch thick, with a sort of pink paste, which I think was made of vegetables and tasted rather nice, were brought round on trays and people paid for them with coupons.

"In English money the food both in Vienna and Budapest, costs about the same as in London, but the Austrian and Hungarian money is only about one-fifth of its former value."

Our American visitor was greatly impressed and troubled by the food shortage. But whether the lack is really felt by the Hungarian workers to be as serious as it seemed to our informant we were unable to gather, for our informant has not known privations and has been accustomed to abundance.

"I found that wages were not uniform: for skilled workers they ranged from 5 to 8½ kronen per hour: for semi-skilled workers from 4 to 6½ kronen, and for unskilled workers from 3 to 5 kronen.

mia and Vienna they expect the Revolution to appear at any moment: indeed the only doubt in their minds is as to where the Revolution will happen next. They are confident that the workers of Britain, France and Italy will not allow themselves to be used so far as to crush the Soviets of Russia and Hungary.

"The most serious crisis through which the Hungarian Soviet Republic had passed up to that time was about May 1st of this year: since then an efficient Red Army of 100,000 men had been created and the Communists declare that it is impossible for the Czechs and Roumanians to overcome it: indeed they ridiculed the idea.

"Lukacs, who is a Jew and a philosopher, is the son of the head of the biggest bank in Budapest: his father has accepted the offer made to the heads of all industrial enterprises to take managerial posts under the Soviets at 2,000 kronen a month. This is nominally £100, but is only worth about £20. I asked Lukacs whether he thought his father was reconciled to the new life under the Soviets He said 'No, I think he is hoping that we shall be overthrown, but the day he gets his fortune back is the day I shall be hung!'

"Lukacs voiced the general belief in Bela Kun: 'All the rest of us could be replaced:

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

NEWS FROM HUNGARY, continued.

people like the rest of us will be found in the revolutions of all countries, but not Bela Kun!'

"Bela Kun was a Hungarian prisoner in Russia during the war with the Central Empires. He was released when the Russian Revolution came. He served with the Red Guard, and he was a friend of Lenin, who advised him to return to Hungary and work for Communism there. He returned to Hungary and there formed a Communist party. Within a month he and all the Executive of the new party were in prison. Karolyi, the President of the bourgeois Hungarian Republic, which was established after the Hungarian Revolution of November 1918, resigned on Friday, 21st March, 1919 and advised the people to establish the Soviets. Karolyi resigned because the popular demand for the Soviets would presently have forced him to do so in any case and because he feared either to accept or resist the Allied ultimatum, which would have robbed Hungary of two-thirds of her territory and almost all her minerals.

"The Communists were preparing an ultimatum of their own for Karolyi and they had planned a demonstration for Sunday, 23rd of March. Guns had been concealed on the hills around Budapest, and it had been intended to announce to the Government that unless the imprisoned Communists were released the city would be bombarded.

"But there was no need for this stratagem. When Karolyi told the old moderate Socialist Party that he could not continue in office, the old Socialist leaders went to Bela Kun in prison and appealed to him to help them. Bela Kun replied that he would do so on condition that the Communist programme shoud be adopted by the new Government. The moderate Socialists agreed and joined with Bela Kun and his imprisoned comrades in forming the Government.

"On the hills behind Buda rich people built their palaces: one great house of 28 rooms was occupied only by its owner and his son. The Soviets have sent to these palaces 500 convalescent children and will send 10,000 as soon as they can obtain beds for them.

"On the walls of Budapest are many posters asking for recruits for the Red Army. They are exceedingly decorative and there are many Futurist designs amongst them. But the thing that struck me about them was that not one of them contained an appeal to nationalist sentiment: Hungary was never once mentioned. It seemed to me that the temptation to appeal to the old hatreds, to ask men to fight against the old enemies of the nation, would have been irresistible; but no such appeal was made. The workers were simply asked to defend the workers' republic, and reminded that this was an international war between the workers and the capitalists.

"I found that many of those who were charged with educational and other constructive social work had also military duties to perform, because of the Allied invasion. Five hundred of the members of the Budapest Soviet were fighting at the front. I wished that that Socialism had been able to start without the handicaps of starvation and war. Both in Russia and Hungary the Soviets have come into being when the country was in a state of ruin; they have arisen from the very depth of privation and despair. I began to think that perhaps it is inevitable that this should be so.

"I began to realise that it is not happiness, and peace, and freedom that is to come at first with the revolution: that a period of hardship and danger is before us, and that we shall only win through to Communism by a strong and undaunted faith in our ideals and in the people."

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

OUR HOT GOSPELLERS.

There are various methods of spreading the light and each missionary has his pet ideas of dynamiting Socialism into my friend Dubb. That my friend Dubb is not yet converted seems to speak very little for the dynamiting process. Perhaps there is something wrong with their dynamite. Perhaps they should try poison gas.

The other day friend Henry received the following, red ink being used where I have put capital letters, as thus:-

"One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin.
Is your skin black? Is it Yellow?
Your BLOOD is RED, so is mine.
My skin's White!
The BLOOD is the LIFE, not the skin, see?
One LIFE, one BLOOD, one colour, RED!
One Flag, RED! One word, Organise!
One Race, The Human Race.
Nationality is only skin-deep.
Workers of the World, Unite!

Now there is nothing wrong about that in sentiment, but it does not convince Henry. It does shake him, wake him and bake him. He remains half-baked. Is it Henry's fault?

And now, our hot-gospellers are hot-foot after Communism. This is not a new stunt. Marx and Engels issued a Communist Manifesto years before I was thrust into a thankless world. But how many Dubbs have read it?

However Henry betook himself to a pamphlet libelled "The Case for Communism." Did it convert him? Did it accomplish the baking process? If it did, it must have baked him into a brick. Perpend:-

"The prophet of despair is ever with us and to him there is no silver lining to any cloud, no promise of sunshine after the storm, no people so fair and upright as to be able to act honorably unless force or fear are brought to bear upon them. . . . . What these deprecators of idealism fail to realise is that all social progress turns upon the continual striving of the individual and the community after something better."

And so runs that pamphlet until we come to page two, when the writer asks:

"What then is man as we know him in the highest state of actual and potential development? What is his relation as actual or potential being, respectively to his present environment and Communist state of Society? Let us see."

Precisely! "Let us see." But I don't see. Neither does Henry. These booklets are beyond our feeble mental efforts.

The point is, of course, that Henry wants to know what this here Communism is, and if we are to wait until Henry is educated up to the bourgeois standard of culture which all our Soglashatelists affect or adopt, we might as well wait till Doomsday. If a man cannot say what he wants to say in plain English, let him go to the gasworks and buy a bag of coke.

These Soglashatelists will tell us of course that writers in plain English are pandering to the ignorance of the working man, they are writing down to his level, they are merely comic writers Henry, they say, has got to go through it, and he might as well start now getting used to the proletariatisation of the means of the materialistic conception of bolshevism.

What is Communism anyway? I asked Henry.

What? said he, "You don't mean to say as what you don't know what you are talking, I should say writing about?

"What I meant, of course," said I with a superior air, and pitying his crass ignorance, "is this—can you tell me in your own words what Communism is?"

"Well I don't know exactly, if you puts it to me as plain as that but so far as I know, it's a part of socialism. The bolsheviks are socialists of course, though there are seme as say they ain't. The Spartacists are socialists of course again, but so is Scheidemann and the rest which didn't prevent them from shooting Liebknecht and Luxemburg and that chap Levine. Seems to that the socialists don't know where THEY are no more than what I do."

"But," I objected "you haven't explained what your idea of Communism is."

"So far as what I have read, it strikes me that the difference is this here between the socialists and communists. The socialists want the people to elect a State what will look after them, but they must be able to elect and sack the State; the communists of course don't believe in the State—leastways not the same kind of State as what those there socialists want. The communists wants Soviets, ain't that plain?"

"Well, not exactly, but it's fair as far as that goes," I said putting him right, "and what do you think of the Sovies?"

"Of course I don't know much about them, but I reckon they seem to be a kind of working man's government. But the communists say they ain't a government, not the same as a capitalist's government what we got now leastways. But speaking for myself can't say as I see such a thundering lot of difference."

"But look at the good they have done in Russia; they have—"

"Well, this ain't Russia."!

"Perhaps not, but—"

"These here Soviets and these here Communisms and Socialisms seem to me just so the "heads" can get in and order us about. Dictatorship of the Proletariat they call it. Who ask 'em to be the Proletariat?"

Somebody will have to write a pamphlet for Henry. No Soglashatelist need apply.

FROM CORK JAIL.

By CONSTANCE DE MARKIEVICZ.

Here I am again, as they say, rather sorry to be shut in in this very nice summer weather, but full of work and I get all interesting books and papers, and am progressing with my education. I wish you could have seen the marvellous military display that accompanied my arrest and surrounds me here.

I was kidnapped just after breakfast by a big force of Police and left in a cold cell most of the day. Mercifully friends found out where I was and sent me dinner.

A huge escort of military and police took me to Kings Bridge, making a great display at the station, bayonets fixed and trench helmets all complete. A regiment of police armed with rifles appeared and two unarmed English police women.

I was taken by special train to Mallow, where a "Preliminary Examination" took place, at which the police had a chance to rehearse their version of my speech. In almost regal style I was taken to Cork Jail. I was brought back to Mallow for trial in a motor van. An armoured car and several motor lorries accompanied me. The sentence was a foregone conclusion.

In prison I am surrounded by sentries in full accoutrements, both by day and night, while policemen armed with rifles slink round to keep on the soldiers. I never saw so many warders and so few prisoners in a jail before. I wonder how the taxpayers would like it if they knew it, how the soldiers like this sort of work. It must be rather humiliating for men just back from the war to be put into a women's prison under police control.

THE RED FLAG ILLEGAL.

At Gort, in Ireland, a man who carried a Red Flag on Labour Day was required for that offence to give bail for 12 months. The Magistrate said: "The Red Flag is the symbol of bloody revolution and terrorism, and was turned down by the French Revolution of 1848."

TIGHT BINDING.

RAID ON THE RUSSIAN SOVIET OFFICES

IN AMERICA.

When the Soviet Authority in Russia traced counter-revolutionary plots to what had formerly been the British Embassy—the British Government had refused to have an Embassy there at the time—the Soviet Government sent its representative to search the premises. Captain Cromie fired at them, and after killing two men, was himself killed. Cromie's action has been defended on the ground that the building had once been an Embassy.

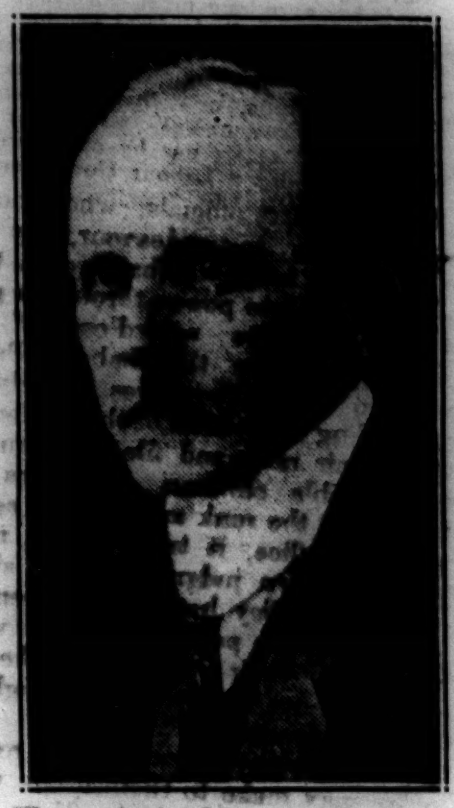
The Russian Soviet Government appointed Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens to represent it in America, and he took offices at 110, West 40th Street, New York City for the carrying on of commercial and diplomatic activities on behalf of the Soviet Government. Many Americans wished to trade with Soviet Russia, and though the blockade was a handicap to Mr. Martens, he was able to do business in the expectation of the blockade being raised.

On June 12th, a scose of State troopers, brought in for the purpose from White Plains and Buffalo, raided Mr. Marten's office. Acting under the orders of the Joint State Legislative Committee, the raiders held the visitors, staff, and officers of the bureau under surveillance for several hours. They shut off all telephonic communications and recorded every incoming call; they opened the letters, and removed all the correspondence, files, books and literature, and broke open a cash-box.

Martens and his staff were served with subpœnas, and Martens, L. A. Heller, the commercial attaché of the bureau, Gregory Weinstein, Martens' secretary, and N.I.Hourwitch, counsel for the bureau were driven to the City Hall, were Martens and Heller were examined by the investigating Committee for several hours.

The affair has been a great advertisement for Soviet propaganda: the newspapers have given long extracts from communist literature, including speeches from Lenin.

Remarkable evidence was given by Hugh Frayne, an United States Labour official, who has been engaged by the Government for eighteen years in investigating the revolutionary movement of the workers and who said: "We are constantly called upon to protect the interests of our organisation against the radical elements amongst the workers, who have attempted to tear it down. In that way we have been obliged to conduct a general campaign against the radical movement."



L. C. A. K. MARTENS.

A SOUTH AFRICAN "BLACK BILL."

"The International," the organ of the International Socialist League of South Africa, explains that the breaking up of an I.S.L. meeting was referred to in the South African Parliament:

"In terms suggesting that that act of violence had been advocated, encouraged, threatened or suggested by more exalted persons than those who actually took part in it, with a view to furnishing evidence of the need for that anti-bolshevik legislation for which theKept press had so long clamoured."

The government responded to the appeal, and on May 23rd, Mr. De Wet, Minister of Justice, published the draft of a Bill to amend the Public Welfare and Moratorium Act, the operations of which it extends for twelve months after the date proclaimed as the termination of the war. This Bill gives the Governor General power to prohibit or restrict the publication by speech, writing, or otherwise, of—

(1) Matter wherein unlawful or violent acts or methods are advocated, encouraged, threatened or suggested for the purpose of affecting changes in political, industrial or economic conditions, or

(2) Matter wherein members of the aboriginal races of Africa are exhorted or incited to break lawful contracts of employment, or to refuse to obey, or to resist the enforcement of, any law or statutory regulation applicable to them, or

(3) Matter which is calculated to cause disaffection, ill-will or hostility, amongst members of those races towards other sections of the community, or

(4) Matter relating to any precautions which are being taken to preserve order or public safety.

The Bill also makes it an offence to be a member of any association which by its constitution or propaganda advocates etc., as per (1) above, and declares that it shall be evidence of membership of such association.

(a) Knowingly to attend a meeting thereof or remain thereat after the character of the meeting has become apparent; (with an exception in favour of those attending "on the instructions of the Minister of Justice," i.e., C.I.D., etc.)

(b) To address an assembly of 5 or more persons in advocacy of such an association or of its objects or of acts, etc., as per (1) above

(c) To supply or distribute leaflets, pamphlets, etc., advocating, etc.

(d) To collect, receive, offer or give subscriptions to such an association or in support of such advocacy, etc.

The penalty for such membership is imprisonment for not exceeding six months, without the option. (The penalty for publication of matter, etc. as above apparently remains to be fixed by regulations to be framed hereafter by the Governor-General.)

There is also provision for registration of aliens.

'The Bill," says "The International" is soundly described in the Cape Press as the "Anti-Bolshevik Bill" and it is clearly designed to break up the International Socialist League; "The I.S.L. strongly advocates uniform wage standards and organisation for both white and coloured workers, and for this, has been attacked with great bitterness by the capitalists and their press. "The International." observes: "Nowadays if you are mobbed you are liable to be prosecuted for assaulting the mob.',

INDIAN NEWS.

The "Independent" of India, May 6th, reports that letters to and from the Punjab are censored; none may leave the Punjab without permission and the luggage of those permitted to leave is examined in order that no documentary evidence of what is happening in the Punjab may leak out. The "Independent" alleges that to punish the people for the recent disturbances there was at first "promiscuous whipping" and "there is a strong rumour that one or two people died as the result.' After whipping had been in operation for three or four days, Col. Johnson issued instructions that consideration should be paid to the social status of the person." Mr. Manohar Lal, the Late Minto Professor of Economics at Calcutta University is imprisoned because he presided at a meeting against the Rowlatt Act. The women members of his household were turned out of the house, which was sealed by the authorities, and were obliged to occupy an outhouse. At Gujranwala 20 persons were marched to jail in handcuffs.

Martial law notices are posted upon houses and the inhabitants are held responsible for the safety of the notices. This was done at Sanatan Dharma College, some of the notices being removed by unknown persons. The students were made to carry their beddings, marching four miles to the Fort, were they were imprisoned till next day, after which they were released, but ordered to report themselves to the military four times a day. An Indian barrister who had martial law notices posted at his house had to stand at his gate all day watching them. Such harrassing orders are given to people who have shown sympathy with prisoners or helped their families. Indians are forbidden to go out bareheaded and are caned or imprisoned if they do; they are caned for failing to "salaam" British officers.

Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Johnson, commanding Lahore civil area has issued a martial Law order [No. 30], which makes it a contravention of Martial Law to deface or mark any picture or letterpress, in illustrated papers or otherwise, purporting to represent, or refer to British subjects, calculated to bring contempt, ridicule, or dislike on such British subjects." All who are inmates, owners or occupiers, students or teachers in the house will be held responsible.

THE RED ARMY OF NEW SLOVAK SOVIET REPUBLIC.

BUDAPEST, JUNE, 23rd, "La Feuille" reports—

The Council of the Slovak Revolutionary Government in its sitting on Saturday legalised the organisation of an International Red Army for Slovakia. The Council decided further to give fraternal support to the Hungarian proletariat, by putting at the disposal of Budapest all the superfluous produce within the territory of the Slovak Soviet Republic.

PRAGUE, 22nd JUNE.

Antoine Janousek, who is at the head of the Soviet Republic of Slovakia is a Czeck communist. He has issued a proclamation for the formation of a Socialist Republic in Bohemia.

The Rowlatt Acts, called in India the 'Black Acts" extend the provisions of the Defence of India Act, which is the Indian equivalent of the British D.O.R.A. The south African equivalent is the Public Welfare and Moratorium Act. Since in Africa and India the oppressive war legislation is being extended we must see to it that the same thing does not happen here!

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THE WORKERS' BLOCKADE
OF THE COUNTER REVOLUTION.

The London District Committee of the Deckers' Union has given a splendid lead. It has advised its members to join, with the French and Italian comrades, in the demonstration strike to support the Russian and Hungarian Republics on July 20th and 21st. The committee has gone further: it has demanded that the funds of the Dockers' Union invested in War Loan be immediately withdrawn; and, more important still, it has advised its members to abstain from working on any ships bound for Russia, or assisting in any way in the overthrow of the Russian Proletariat.

Munition ships, troop ships, food ships, have been sailing in fast increasing numbers from the Port of London, to the forces which are at grips with the Workers' Government of Russia. It is tremendously important that the Dockers' District Committee has taken its stand against helping the reactionaries. We trust that the rank and file will support the committee as one man, and that no blacklegging will be tolerated. But national action must be taken.

From Hull, from Liverpool, from Newcastle and other ports, ships are sailing for Russia: they also must be stopped; to close one port to the counter-revolutionaries is not enough. The British Dockers, many months ago, refused to handle munitions for Russia, but the munitions were simply diverted to other ports.

In Norway, a Workers' Blockade Committee has been set up and both dockers and seamen are abstaining from work on ships carrying counter-revoluntionary supplies. The operations of the committee will be linked up all over Scandinavia, the Danes, the Swedes and the Finns are all participating. A similar committee should be set up here, and should be linked up, not only with the Scandinavian committee, but with similar Workers' Blockade Committees all over the world. We shall need such committees, not only for aiding the Russian, Hungarian and Slovak Soviets, but to aid the workers' revolutions which are approaching in all parts of the world: in Britain, as in other countries.

Why Elect Blacklegs?

The workers of the Allied countries hold the key to the situation: the International Capitalist war against the Workers' Soviet Republics cannot be carried on a day without the assistance of Allied workers.

The Labour Party Conference decided by an overwhelming majority that the counter-revolutionary war shall be stopped by the workers, by means of their industrial power, but Mr. McGurk, the chairman of the conference, has informed the reactionary London *Evening Standard* that the decision of the conference will be over-ruled. He said:—

"Nothing will come of it, after all."

"I am absolutely opposed to industrial action being taken for political purposes," he said. "I am certain that the people of this country are not ready for it. If it came about it would do more harm to the Labour movement than anything else possibly could.

"My message to the workers is that I would try to impress on them as earnestly as I can that they should seek to increase their political strength and not try to hamper it by any such methods as the direct actionists seek to employ.

"Such methods would never succeed if they were attempted. Even the transport workers and the miners are divided on the matter. They had far better not meddle with the general strike question until they have a better cause.

"I do not apprehend that any such strike is likely. Neither the Labour Party Executive nor the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress is likely to support it."

The new chairman, Mr. Hutchinson, is a member of the Executive of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, in a signed article on the Southport Conference, which appeared in the *Daily Herald* on July 2nd, adopted a similar attitude:—

"So long as society is organised on the present economic basis, so long must the workers retain the right to strike as an industrial weapon, but to apply the policy of industrial action for the purpose of compelling any Government to change its political policy is dangerous, for it involves the abrogation of Parliament. Government and Labour itself might be the victims of its use by other sections of the community under a Labour Government."

Labour Party officials, who pronounce it as undemocratic to endeavour, by the strike weapon, to force the hand of a Government which came into power through a general election, are quite regardless of democratic principles within the Labour Party. They seem to think themselves entirely justified in over-ruling the wishes of the conference. They treat their rank and file colleagues like mere irresponsible children. Perhaps they argue that since the rank and file has again returned them to office, it trusts them more than it trusts its own judgment; and, since their reactionary policy has always been consistently followed, they perhaps think it was known at the time of their election, and they are justified in continuing to follow it, although the majority voted otherwise.

But whatever excuse the reactionaries in office may make to themselves, when they decide to disobey the instructions of the conference, it is clear that if the rank and file desire their instructions to be carried out, they must either choose officials of their own way of thinking, or act through their own rank and file organisations.

The Trade Union Congress will be held shortly: will it re-elect the reactionary committee?

So long as the members of the Executive are reactionary, they will always find some excuse for disobeying advanced instructions. Moreover, it is impossible for an annual conference to direct action for the year, since the situation is constantly changing and developing. The Soviet system within the trade union movement is an urgent need. This can be obtained through the workers' committee movement.

The worshop is the key to the situation: a blockade committee, or a committee for direct action, strongly supported by the rank and file in the workshops need not wait for the Trade Union Congress or Labour Party Executives to give it sanction.

The Soviets in Peril.

Meanwhile the food supplies of Soviet Russia are again seriously endangered. Denikin, aided by the might of the Allies, is reported as making great headway. His troops are reported to have captured Tsaritsyn, which is called the key to the Volga, the great waterway which carries produce to the centre of Russia from rich, food-bearing regions. He has also captured important centres in the Ukraine, and is striking upward towards Moscow. The British have also landed from the Caspian Sea.

The victorious Allied capitalists are making very determined efforts to secure the mastery of the Ukraine and Volga regions, especially now that the harvest is approaching. They struggle also to take from the Soviets the coal and mineral areas, in order that Soviet Russia may suffer in consequence and may be deprived of the materials for supplying the Red Army with the munitions necessary to counter those with which the counter-revolutionaries are supplied by the Allies, particularly by the British. Whilst Denikin is desirous of striking upward towards Moscow: the sinister politicians of the Capitalist Alliance are considering the prospects of an offensive against Petrograd. In Paris the big five are cynically discussing the strength of the Hungarian Soviet Army. Soviet Hungary has done all that the Allies have demanded of her; she has even given up, at their rapacious bidding, territories essential to her economic welfare and power to withstand a blockade. Nevertheless, Balfour and his colleagues have decided that it is impossible to make peace with Bela Khun's Communist Government. If British Labour fails to use its industrial power to stop the war on the Soviets it will be responsible for whatever may result.

The unprincipled ruffians who are fighting to re-establish Autocracy in Russia are competing for supremacy amongst themselves. *The Times* now announces, as a great piece of magnanimity on the part of Denikin, that he has agreed to submit himself to Koltchak. Koltchak, on November 18th last, issued a Decree from Omsk, stating: "On this day, by order of the Council of Ministers of the All-Russian Government, I was appointed Supreme Ruler," whilst his business manager, George Selberg, issued a criminal code on Zsarist lines, including a provision that "Any person guilty of insulting the Supreme Ruler, by word of mouth, in handwriting or in print, shall be punished by confinement in prison."

On January 31st, Koltchak circulated a statement that: "The British, through Sir George Eliot, the British High Commissioner, expresses its great sympathy and interest in the efforts of Koltchak's adminstration to establish Free Government in Russia on the firm basis of public trust."

"The public," in the eyes of the British Government, is the Capitalist class. "A Government on the basis of public trust," means a Government which the Capitalists believe will assure their position: the position of the workers is a matter of indifference to them. Labour and Capital are fighting a life and death struggle on this question of the Soviets, and the struggle will not cease until the Soviets have been established throughout the world.

Good News From Russia.

But the news from Russia is more hopeful. A Bolshevik wireless of July 6th says: "On the Denikin front the situation begins to change sharply in favour of the Red Army." Lenin is reported as explaining that Koltchak's Army is large because he has forced a general mobilisation of the people in the territories he has invaded, but Lenin says that, like Koltchak, his downfall will arise from this very cause: he will be the more hated by the unwilling people he has forced to fight for him and they will retaliate by joining the Red Army. In the North, too, the Red Army is achieving successes. News of Capitalist victories against the Soviets must always be received with reserve, especially if they come from Helsingfors, which is the source of a continuous stream of falsehoods. Lenin announces that the Soviet position, though still hard and difficult, is very much stronger than last year. The Soviets are making a glorious fight.

Exit the War D.O.R.A. Enter the Peace D.O.R.A.

As in India and South Africa, the repressive legislation of the war is to have its successor under peace. The Defence of the Realm Act disappears with the ratification of the Peace Treaty; but the Peace Treaty Bill gives the King power to make Orders in Council and to impose penalties on the same lines as those imposed under D.O.R.A. "We cannot use industrial action for political purposes," say the Labour Leaders. "The cause is not sufficient," says McGurk. Meanwhile the Government will continue doing as it pleases until the workers use their power to stop it.

British Troops to Withdraw From Russia.

The announcement, not the first of its kind, that the Government expects that by the end of the year there will be no British troops in Russia, has been advertised in the Press by such headlines as "BRITISH TROOPS TO RETURN FROM RUSSIA," but, as a matter of fact, the Government's statement merely is that if Tchaykovsky's anti-Bolshevik Government is able to maintain itself without a British Army, all but volunteers will be withdrawn from Northern Russia, but a strong British Military Mission will remain and Tchaykovsky will have the same help in munitions, tanks, aeroplanes

and other supplies that is given to Koltchak. A military "mission" is the same as an Army, and "volunteers" are by no means only soldiers who are in Russia because they want to be. They are being pressed in on all sorts of pretexts, including the compulsion provided by unemployment. But, in any case, the Conscripts will not be withdrawn unless the counter-revolutionaries can manage without them.

In the Caucasus it has been arranged to replace British Conscripts by Italian Conscripts, but the present temper of Italy suggests that the arrangements may not be carried through.

In our opinion, these announcements that the British soldiers will soon be home from Russia are merely made to disarm public opinion and to check Labour's preparations for industrial action.

Down Tools on June 21st.

The Labour Party Executive, ignoring both the clearly-expressed will of the Southport Conference for a strike on Monday, July 21st, and the appeal for unity of action with the French and Italian comrades, is merely arranging a series of meetings for Sunday, July 20th. The rank and file must organise their own "down tools" demonstrations on June 21st.

No Nationalisation.

In spite of its pretended acceptance of the Sankey report the Government has now indicated that it does not intend to Nationalise the Mines. It has also assured the Capitalists that there is no danger of the nationalisation of railways and has withdrawn from the Minister of Ways and Communications the right to take over docks, harbours, piers, canals and so on.

The Labour Party remains as passively gentlemanly as ever. When Lloyd George sneered at the idea that Germany should be told to "Go and sin no more," and announced that such an example was being made of her that no nation should do the same things again, no one was heard to say: this nation and her Allies are doing it to Hungary and Russia, and presently, no doubt, they will be doing it to Slovakia, because the workers in these countries have dared to establish Communism and do away with riches and poverty and the Capitalist system from which they spring.

Votes for Women.

A Government defeat on a Labour Party Adult Suffrage Bill would have seemed important before the war: before the Russian Revolution came to establish the Soviet system and to show to the workers a more excellent way. But in the days when no hope of a change of system in our time showed on the grey horizon and when there was a real battle to be fought with the old prejudice that denied a woman the right to be recognised as fully human, the Labour Party did not think woman's Enfranchisement important

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

SERRATI AND THE DEMONSTRATION STRIKE.

From "Avanti!" for June 26th, 1919. Extract from a speech delivered by G. M. Serrati, editor of "Avanti!" before the Seine Federation of the French Socialist Party.

"Up to the present we have the adhesion of the French Socialist Party and of our C.G.T. in favour of a strike of 24 hours; we lack that of the English proletariat, but soon we hope to have that too! And then in company with our French and English comrades we shall be able to show that the Bolsheviki are just Socialists who have set up in their countries the dictatorship of the proletariat with a Soviet organisation. Here, of course, our opponents and the Jingo Socialists step in and tell us: 'But this is not democracy!' No, it is not 'democracy'; full well we recognise it, because 'democracy' to-day only stands for the old conception of the bourgeois revolutions, based on the 'citizen,' i.e. on the rich citizen and the poor citizen, between whom there can never be real harmony and collaboration, because the wolf will always remain a wolf and the dog a dog."

AROUND THE RED TRENCHES

By one who lately returned from Russia.

The sanguinary struggle between the Russian workers and peasants, supported by the united efforts of western capitalism, has reached a critical stage. The climax appears so imminent that friend and foe eagerly watch the gigantic contest.

The counter-revolutionary effort, galvanised to an ephemeral existence by the gold and munitions of western imperialists, obviouly cannot last long. Only men and munitions from the western "democracies" can keep alive the vendetta of the Russian bankers and propertied nobility.

To meet the attack by counter-revolutionaries a Red Army 3,000,000 strong has been formed. The Committee for the Defence of the Revolution, the Extraordinary Committee for equipment of the Red Army, and the Red Military Academy have seen to this task. Still more powerful is the Soviet propaganda carried on through literature distributed by aeroplanes, and by oral agitation in the rear and on the front of the invading armies. The extraordinary power of this propaganda was illustrated by the break down of the discipline amongst the French troops. 70 per cent of whom, according to a statement of General D'Anselmes, the commander of the French army of occupation in the southern Ukraine and the Crimea, have been affected by bolshevik propaganda. Unfortunately comrade Jeanne La Bourbe and a dozen other comrades were shot as traitors for carrying on this propaganda. Their example shows us the true path and should stimulate others to similar deeds of heroism and self abnegation.

British soldiers in Russia have proved good material for the "bolshevist contamination." Some day the opponents of bolshevism, who courageously ship British troops to north Russia, may experience a disappointing surprise in finding the Tommies making common cause with the "red devils."

For this season it may be said that the Red Army has won the battle with the counter-revolutionaries for the districts most vital to the economic re-construction and welfare of Russia have been won back for the Soviets. These districts include the rich food-bearing regions of the Ukraine and eastern Russia, where there are stores of the corn, sugar, butter, and meat, of which the people of northern Russia were in great need. The problem of relieving Communist Russia from starvation was thus solved. The Ukraine, and the spaceous plains extending from the Volga to the Urals, are the main sources of vital energy for a vast population; the Archangel and Marmun fronts, the westren, even the Petrograd front are not of primary importance.

We are probably on the eve of a restoration of Soviet power in the Urals and in western Siberia and the overthrow of Koltchak's feudal and capitalistic dictatorship. Siberia will then provide ore, fuel and food supplies for the industrial north, the heart of Soviet Russia. At the same time the struggle continues for the wide steppes of the Ukraine where Denikin is supplied by the allies with the finest munitions

The third region to be recapture by the Red Army is Baku, with itscolossal stores of petrol. The recovery of Baku would mean a quick recovery of the industrial life and railway traffic throughout Russia, The deadlock in various industries and the disorganisation of the railway traffic and navigation in Soviet Russia is the result of its being cut off from necessary raw materials during the whole period of its existence. The combined forces of the Tsarist reaction and the propertied classes of Europe have, attempted to stranggle the victorious revolution of the working class through blockade and starvation.

Besides parrying the blows of the enemy, the Red Army aims at re-capturing the parts of the former Russian Empire which contain essential sources of supply, and are the more necessary to Russia because she is blockaded.

The allied counter-revolutionaries are fighting to deprive Soviet Russia of the sources of supply and also to get the wealth producing areas under their own control.

This is the meaning of the gigantic struggle which is being waged along the vast borders of this wonderful country, where labour is defying and resisting both the armed attacks and the ignominious crusade of lies and mis-representation carried on by international capitalism.

WHY AUSTRIA IS NOT A SOVIET REPUBLIC.

In a censored telegram in "Avanti" for June 26th the following passage occurs:—

"The fact that a Soviet Republic has not yet been proclaimed in Austria is due, not so much to the Austrian Government, as to representations made by the Entente. The Entente has declared repeatedly that it would stop sending provisions if the Communists seized power. The English representative, Colonel Cunningham, in an interview granted yesterday to the 'Tageblatt,' repeated the statements already made to Comrade Otto Bauer . . . . . (4 lines censored) . . . . that if any disturbance of order took place in Austria, the despatch of raw materials and provisions would be absolutely interrupted. (4 more lines censored.)

"The Catholics, also, aid in 'maintaining order' by inviting the people to fasts and prayers, so that God may spare humanity from the calamity of a Communist régime, following in so doing the Protestant Governor of Connecticut, who has made the same appeal. It is to be hoped that Communism, opposed as it is by the Protestant and Catholic Churches and the Jewish synagogue, will desist from its plans, in the hope at least of being able to avoid the hostility of Mahomet!

"Meanwhile, having regard to the relative tranquility of the country, Colonel Cunningham, following up a suggestion made by the French general Hallier, went to-day to the Ministry of War, and declared that the English would open an office to take special care of the food and clothing for the children of soldiers belonging to the people's militia [i.e. a bribe to the men whom they hope to use in crushing the Soviets].

"Up to the present hunger is far from being mitigated. A revolt broke out recently in the district prison to the cry of 'We are hungry: give us bread!'

"And whilst in the prisons they were crying out because they were hungry, it was left to the deputy-mayor of Vienna, Max Winter, to exclaim at a meeting in favour of the 'spread of culture,' that the greater the number of books diffused amongst the populace, the less need they would have of prisons!"

GOVERNMENT DEBTS.

C. E. Fussell writes to say that the Government is not paying the money it owes to contractors, and therefore the contractors cannot undertake other work, and therefore the workers are unemployed.

Tchitcherine, in a wireless telegram published in "L'Humanité," June 20th, points out that Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary are the only nations that dare withstand the attacks of the victorious Allies: all the others have fallen prostrate before them. Hungary and Russia withstand them because they are animated by the force of the workers' revolution.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

June 30th. Railway fares will not be reduced at present, Mr. Bridgeman stated on behalf of the Government. Yet the fifty per cent. was *supposed* to be a war measure.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.

General protests against the inadequate housing arrangements for returned soldiers were made on the L. G. B. motion. Sir D. Maclean (L.) quoted what the present First Lord of the Admiralty had said: "To let our men come home from water-logged trenches to something little better than a pigsty would be criminal on the part of ourselves." This is exactly what *has* happened. The summer is well advanced, and the promised 50,000 houses—inadequate though they are—are not built.

THE "ENEMY."

July 1st.—Mr. Churchill made no secret of the fact "the armies of the Soviet Government" are now termed the enemy.

PEACE TREATY.

The Germans have signed a Treaty *not* in their own language. There are only two official versions of the Treaty, one in English, the other in French. What an extraordinary procedure!

D. O. R. A.

July 2nd.—"It may be necessary by Statute to continue some of its provisions," Mr. Bonar Law said in reference to the abolition of D. O. R. A.

HUNGARY.

July 3rd.—Negotiations are going on between the Allies and Hungary. The daily papers, however, still talk of a state of war between the Allies and Hungary.

COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ.

Commander Kenworthy (L.) stated that Countess Markievicz is in a weak state of health; but the Government knows better since she has not *complained* of her health since imprisoned.

PEACE.

Mr. Lloyd George gave a lengthy and vivid description of the Peace Treaty. It appealed to the militarists; not to those who advocated a negotiated peace. Even Mr. Adamson (Lab.) explained that Labour did not altogether approve of its harshness. The Germans should belong to the League, and conscription should be abolished were the views of the Labour Party.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

July 4th. Major Astor tried to postpone the third reading of the Labour Party Franchise Bill, on the ground that a general election would be brought about by again changing the register. The Labour Party secured a great victory over the Government; the division showing a majority in favour of the Bill.

A SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The scene in the House of Commons on Thursday afternoon began (some time after Lloyd George's Peace-Treaty speech) with the rising in the crowded Stranger's Gallery of a woman who loudly called out:—

"Mr. Speaker, I rise to protest against our soldiers being sent to Russia! They enlisted to fight against Germany, but that war is now over. . ."

The rest was shouted through a hand over her mouth; but she did not cease to shout while being dragged from her seat at an end of the front row to the door behind, till she disappeared. Meantime, a man two rows behind, apparently an artist, was protesting against the roughness used, appealing to the crowd of "strangers" to interfere and stop it; and she had no sooner disappeared, than a young woman was up to shout to "the House":—

"Parliamentary Government has been weighed and found wanting! We want Soviets, and mean to have them!"

She got no farther. A breathless agitation and alarm had now spread among the officials of "the House," most of them, in fact; and while the first woman was being carried horizontal "Whither she would not," the second followed her. "The House" had now lost all its somnolence. In the Temple of Unreality, the Real had started up; and the second woman was no sooner gone, than the man before-mentioned seemed to see his chance formally to address Mr. Speaker. Now, nothing agitates "the House" like Number. To it One is nothing; Two is something; Three begins to be everything; and its terrors quicken. One official was heard to pant fatly to another: "The Man! Get the Man out!" and, meantime, the man was shouting at his leisure:—

"I say! What a common, dull lot you are! Some men are wicked, many are simple-minded; you are both a little wicked and very simple-minded; but your wickedness and your simple-mindedness are as nothing compared with your dulness and are as nothing—your intellectual dulness, your incommonness, your incommonness, that eats you up like a deep veterate disease. Has some one of you never seen a star, or heard of a philosopher, or read a page written by a thinker, to pick you up a little out of the ditch-water of your *banalité*."

But by now other officials had gathered, and "the House" was rescued from more. The man did not resist capture, yet outside in the corridors was rather maliciously mauled. He happened to say to the stout official who held his left arm: "Why not take it coolly? You are out of breath like an old woman"; upon which another official struck him twice in the right eye, which was swollen when he appeared in the police-room, to which all were taken. This was foul, for both the man's arms were captive, and it was not done in the heat of the scuffle, but in cold blood after all was over. The three were kept prisoners in a room for about an hour, and then released.

The moral seems to be: "In Number there is power."

TELEGRAPHISTS' STRIKE IN U.S.A.

The telegraphists and telephone operators employed by the Western Union Telegraph Company in ten Southern States, all members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, agreed to strike on June 11th, on the following issues:—

The right to belong to a labour union without any restriction. The right of collective bargaining through the trade union representing the telegraph and telephone workers and not through company controlled associations organised to defeat the aims of the workers. The reinstatement and compensation of all workers discharged in 1918 and 1919 for membership in a trade union or for legitimate trade union activities. An increase in pay sufficient to meet the increased cost in living since 1915. Standardisation of salaries with a wage scale. Rules governing working conditions whereby the rights of the workers will be defined and guaranteed, which is the only means of stopping petty tyrannies and persecutions now being practised in many sections of the country.

The telegraph and telephone system was put under Government control during the war, and it was hoped that control might lead to nationalisation; but Postmaster-General Burleson, who had provoked the strike by his treatment of the operatives, hastily returned the wires to the private owners, presumably they, and not he, might have the responsibility of dealing with the strike. Carlton, the manager of the Western Union Company, is reported as saying: "War or no war, Government or no Government, I will conduct the Western Union to suit myself, and no power on earth can make me hire union labour."

"NEW YORK TIMES" ON WINNIPEG STRIKE.

In form it is a strike that is on in Canada. In intent it is revolution. The Government is inactive and seems powerless. Let us not be too quick to condemn the Government for inaction. Under the law, governments are now empowered to act unless there is violence. Without violence or disorder beyond such harmless things as hissing and booing, or tearing an emblem off somebody's lapel, the so-called strikers, directed by the Bolshevist or I. W. W. element, have paralysed a large part of the west, and their assumption of the powers of government is spreading daily. There are no riots worthy of the name; the "strikers" simply assume the government of a town, the police and firemen join them, and there is no overt act of which to take cognisance.

The police of Winnipeg joined the strikers at first, but when the Winnipeg authorities proposed to raise a new police force the regular one returned to work. This sounds encouraging until you hear the reason. They returned to work so that there should be nobody to interfere with the strikers, who as yet had committed no overt acts of disorder.

Surely some way must be found by which a menaced government may find a weapon with which to strike back and save itself.

The British Government has found the way: it issues a notice under D. O. R. A.!

FRENCH WORKERS.

French railway workers declare that the only way to stop the economic stress and political reaction under which the whole world writhes, is by a united action of the proletariat. They add:—

(1) That the counter-revolution has lasted long enough.

(2) That the revolutions in Russia and Germany have been carrying through plans always approved of by us, consequently it is time we refused to allow the transporting of troops, materials of war, etc., for use against these people.

(3) That we approved of the action of our sailors and soldiers who refused to fight against these people.

(4) That we refuse to allow trains with troops sent by the Government to stop strikes and against unruly troops.

As a consequence, we consider that our Federation must intervene without delay and demand complete and speedy demobilisation, and free pardon for all.

GOMPERS.

"When he came back from the disgusting fiasco in Europe, he feasted with some of the country's most avaricious exploiters. While in Europe on his first trip he was just overwhelmed with the virtues and ability of our dear King, and now on this second trip he is having luncheons with dukes and other things of that nature. The Grand Duke Alexander of the old régime of the Czar. Some friend."—From the "Butte Bulletin."

RING IN THE MILLENNIUM.

Oh, yes! 'tis pleasant indeed to hear those poor
Idiot toilers clang that stupid din
For even this peace: That shall be on my door
One more bell to ring fresh profits in!

Ring on the joy bells of my growing power!
Toll the knell of other peoples' doom!
There's little else I need in this great hour—
Beyond one more trade boom!

Clang on! Fools! Dupes! And all the while I gloat
On the earth and the fulness thereof that I own!
And ye too, MINE! And out of YE I float
Another loan!

Ah yes! 'Tis good and satisfying indeed
To turn all other human beings into "hands,"
With whom, this year I have but just one need—
To grab a dozen more lands!

It suits me, in my power, luxury, ease,
To let you live for me; I won't refuse
Permission to you to wish me, if you please,
The absolute power to do just what I choose.

Dupes! Hypnotised fools! 'Tis true, and clear!
Talk of striving for an ideal State!
Talk of love and peace, both far and near!
Talk, while I raise you another Hate!

"Peace"! "Love"! "Humanity"! Talk on "'Tis well
Worth longing, living, dying for."!
And while you are talking, in the name of Hell
I wage another WAR!

K. S. BHAT.

COVENTRY WORKERS' COMMITTEE

On Sunday July 6, W. Gee held an audience of 2,000 spellbound whilst he dealt with the growth of the Soviets in Russia. Literature, which after all is our chief hope, is going rapidly in great quantities, in fact we are having to restock our literature cupboard with matter dealing with Russia and Scientific Socialism generally, practically every week.

Sunday next, July 13th the above Committee is holding a Conference of all Trade Unions and Labour bodies in the city at a "Hands Off Russia" Conference to decide ways and means of putting into effect the Southport resolution. Conference takes place at I. L. P. Rooms on Sunday July 13th at 11 o'clock.

Comrades Tom Dingley and W. Gee are open for out-of-town bookings for Propaganda meetings on the Workers' Committee Movement.

LEN JACKSON, Prop. Sec.
65, Severn Rd., Coventry.

A REMINDER.

In the refusal of the Army Council to allow circulation to the troops abroad, the *Daily Herald* has had a sharp reminder that the interests of Capital and Labour are opposite and that the latter cannot abide safely in the keeping of the lion! The moral is, change the system.

INCOME-TAX.

The workers are showing a disposition to resist paying Income-tax; it is therefore proposed that employers should deduct the tax from their wages. A change in the entire system can be secured by united action.

A SPLIT IN THE NORWEGIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

The Norwegian Socialist Party at its recent conference decided by a large majority to work for the Soviet system of Government and to use as one of its methods the Parliamentary strike; that is, for the withdrawal of Socialist Members from the Chamber which owing to their numbers would prevent laws being passed there. The minority, who disagree with the Soviet form of Government, have formed a separate group but have not left the Party.

WORKERS OF DERBY!
You can get your DREADNOUGHT regularly from—
THE WORKERS' NEWSAGENCY,
Clarion Club, Wardwick, Derby.

TIGHT BINDING.
ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

The VANISHING ARMY of the BOLSHEVIKI

By F. F. MOORE, Late Captain Intelligence A. E. F., Siberia.

The Allies in Siberia have been surrounded by an army without uniforms or other visible military equipment, without any apparent machinery of organisation. This army has the ability to vanish without being missed, to reassemble when and where it chooses, to set up a front if it so desires, or, if it sees fit, to dissolve again, concealing itself once more under the wings of the very host which is seeking to overcome it. Moreover, it is to a very large extent an army of passive resistance.

During the winter, just past, this vanishing army entered the cities occupied by the Allies, and, in the guise of refugees, or "loyal" Russians, received food, clothing and shelter. Under the protection of the Allied guns it spent the period of bitter cold weather in comfort, perfecting its plans for the on-coming spring, carrying on its propaganda of hostility against the Interventionists, and mingling with the troops which had come half way round the world to render it harmless.

The Bolsheviki are operating with a strategy of organised disorder. It is said that you cannot sell anything to a man if he keeps his mouth shut. By the same token, how can the Bolsheviki be quelled if they make no tangible resistance? And as they are only marking time, to them silence is more useful than the sword.

As an officer on Intelligence duty, I reached these conclusions after nearly six months in Siberia, during which time I travelled some ten thousand miles. I went among the Russian people of remote towns; rode with them in fourth-class cars; ate with them in restaurants, and watched them at work and at play.

While our transports, bound for Siberia, were in mid-Pacific, the wireless flashed to us the news that the Bolsheviki front had been pushed back, and was now five thousand miles from the coast—at the Volga River. This was disappointing information for an expedition which was properly keyed up for immediate action—landing under shell-fire, or some other phase of real war.

And the medal-hounds cursed their luck!

Our first sight of Vladivostok, as we sailed up through the Golden Horn, was of a peaceful city nestling among the hills, but bloated beyond its natural size by acres of sheeted piles of war-stores—covered stores that were like a fringe of great mushrooms which had come up in the night. Bluejackets aboard the *Brooklyn* hailed us with loving derision as the *Sheridan* felt its way to the dock; they joked us about our machine-guns, lashed to our after-bridge, and suggested that we "check" our shooting-irons "at the door," in order to avoid trouble.

Our first sight of the people on the docks gave us the mental attitude of tourists. Friendly-looking Russians in boots and whiskers, right out of our old school geographies, were gathered to watch us disembark. They wore the same belted blouses we had seen in melodramas about exiles in Siberia. Regular Ivan Ivanovitches, with sheepskin caps as big as garbage cans, smiled at us good-naturedly. They looked anything but dangerous. Certainly they could not be Bolsheviki.

Once settled in quarters, we found the Russian people, both the civil and the military, going about their business in a quiet, care-free way. They and the Allied forces were all friends together. And at American headquarters there were even more Russians on duty than Americans—English-speaking interpreters, messengers, orderlies, door-keepers, telephone operators and translators. They were most picturesque, very busy, extremely voluble, and willing; but somehow or other a great deal of time was taken to accomplish these results.

In fact, we found the whole city on a slow gear. In a restaurant we never got our food until the food was cold; when we hired a drosky we were taken over a roundabout route in order to cover a few blocks; if we boarded a street-car, the service at once became disorganised—either the motorman stopped to tinker something, or the car ran up a side street and got off the tracks. This was all very irritating, but of course it was not being done on purpose.

I got orders to go to Habarovsk on a troop-train—leaving at eight o'clock one night. But the train did not come out of the yards till five o'clock the next morning! Not that anything was wrong; it was simply that the engine scheduled to draw it failed to appear. All through the frozen night, a couple of apparently unengaged locomotives wheezed up and down and whistled signals. Russian railroad men blew horns interminably, and there was every evidence of laudable activity. The American major who was to have charge of the train delivered a line of profanity with all the fervour and efficiency of the old regular army. But the Russian station officials—lay down on benches and went to sleep!

It took eight days to reach Habarovsk. The ordinary time is thirty-six hours. We ascribed the series of delays to stupidity and bad conditions in general. We even sympathised with the difficulties under which the railroad men worked.

For some reason or other the Japanese got better action than we did. But they had frequent accidents. A Japanese troop-train, on which I travelled south from Ushumun, was wrecked in the middle of the night. Box-cars filled with horses, guns and soldiers were thrown together in an indescribable mess. Which meant that two days or more were consumed in clearing the tracks. There was no lack of apologies, explanations and regrets. These took up much of the time that should have been spent in again getting under way.

On another occasion, while *en route* to Chita over the Chinese Eastern line in a Red Cross train loaded with gift goods for the Russians, three wrecks delayed us. And on reaching Mandchuli in Manchuria, a switchman deliberately derailed these cars filled with bandages, medicines, and clothing, and carrying women nurses and doctors, all and everything intended for the aid of wounded and sick and starving Russians. The temperature was forty degrees below zero. This time there were no apologies, because this time it was obviously not an accident. But nothing could be done about it—the culprit had disappeared.

It was about this time that I began to ask myself, Where is the real front? Now I was suspicious of the delays in restaurants, the blocking of trains, the roundabout droskys, the street-cars that broke down, the misinformation which sent us astray, the balking telephones. These formed a perfect system of sabotage—like covert warfare.

It was not a suspicion with the Cossacks; it was a conviction. Far up the line of the Trans-Siberian railroad I saw this same "passive resistance" tried on Ataman Semionoff, the Cossack chief of the Trans-Baikal. He met it with anything but proficient swearing. Exasperated by delays, his Cossack officers would lead out batches of horn-blowers and flog them with iron rods until they were inert masses of human flesh, bloody and unconscious on the tracks.

The Allied officers in Siberia were inclined to deprecate these floggings. But they were misled as to the character and purposes of the men who were punished because these men appeared to be mere louts, dressed out of the rag-bag. In particular, the Americans in Russia were inclined to judge the people with whom they came in contact by the standards of dress in the United States. But the Russian who looks like an animated scarecrow may be playing international poker. And he is willing to let us laugh at him if he can fool us.

These days in Siberia, it is a mistake to think that because a man has on old clothes he is poor or not educated, or unskilful in intrigue. For—he may be dressed badly in order to protect himself from the Bolsheviki; or—he may himself be a Bolsheviki, and his apparent beggary makes him appear harmless.

I found that a surprisingly large number of Russians (drosky drivers, station-restaurant attendants, brakemen and many others who might be easily mistaken for *moujiks*) can speak good English—but prefer to carry on long conversations through an interpreter! One man who had used these tactics, later on leaned down in a station to stroke a cat, saying, "Hello, kitty, where did you come from?" Such men invariably wanted information as to how many American troops had landed at Vladivostok, and what we were planning to do.

Not a few of them were from the United States. Early one morning I was summoned to the military prison of a town. A smart young Cossack, who clicked his heels and saluted most deferentially, brought a note which he said was from the prison commandant. With my orderly I drove in a drosky to the prison, and informed the sentry that I had come in response to a summons from the commandant. Thereupon he ushered me into a spacious corridor crowded with Bolshevik prisoners.

Immediately I was accosted in English by one of the prisoners—a young man. I told him that I could not talk with him, as I was on my way to the commandant's office. But he would not let me proceed. "I'm going to be shot," he pleaded. "You must save me—I'm an American."

An American to be shot? It was my business to protect Americans.

"What part of the United States are you from?" I asked.

"New York city—Grand Street."

"Were you born in New York City?"

"No. I was born in Russia. But I am an American. You tell 'em they can't shoot me."

"So you were born here. When were you naturalised in America?"

"Well, I didn't take out any papers. But I lived in New York nine years."

"Then Russia is your country. When did you come back?"

"About a year ago."

"Why did you come?"

"I wanted to help my country." By now the tears were running down his face.

The other prisoners had swarmed about us. The commandant now pushed through them and eyed me angrily. I told my orderly to inform him that I had come in response to his summons. I produced the note.

"I wish the execution might be delayed," I said, "until I can talk with this man again. He might give me some information of value."

"Go ahead," said the chief of Staff. As I went out he picked up the telephone.

I drove back to prison. The commandant, smiling and suave, led me when I asked to see the prisoner, to a window overlooking the prison yard. There he pointed to a figure lying in the reddened snow. It was "the New Yorker."

"Engagements" of this variety, between soldiers of the Bolsheviki and counter-revolutionists, were of almost daily occurrence, and the number of casualties on these occasions varied from a dozen to twenty-five. In this hidden warfare, the losses on one side were always balanced by losses on the other. And many a Cossack or counter-revolutionist has had his back blown out when he ventured forth in a frozen fog.

The vanishing army of the Bolsheviki acquires weapons by various methods. A truck-load of Kolchak's machine-guns at Omsk disappeared while in transit from one barracks to another, and the men who were making the transfer dropped from sight. Some of our officers and soldiers know how the Bolsheviki add to their own supply of pistols. It has been estimated that ten per cent. of the American officers travelling with orderlies had their automatics either taken by stealth or snatched from the holsters in crowded railroad stations. One of these officers expostulated with a thief. "Here!" he shouted. "That's my gun!" "Well, you're wrong," was the reply in good English; "it's mine, and you'd better not start any trouble here." It seemed good advice.

One story going the rounds is to the effect that an officer of high rank, while pushing his way through a jam of people in a station, followed by his orderly, was startled by a cry from the latter whose pistol was gone!

"Gone!" said the officer, crossly. "You ought to know better than to lose your gun! Where did you wear it?"

Meekly the orderly indicated the position of his holster on his right hip.

"But you shouldn't wear it so far back," growled the exasperated officer. "Keep it well to the front like mine. Look here!" And he slapped his own holster, worn well to the front on his belt. Then the red of chagrin spread over his face. "Lord!" he cried. "Mine's gone, too!"

The trans-Siberian Railroad is virtually in the hands of the Bolsheviki—Bolshevik firemen, engineers, conductors, repairmen, signalmen, switchmen, station-masters and, to a large extent, telegraph operators. Not only do these men absorb graft, but, as I have pointed out, trains move only at their will, or if against their will, are wrecked. And instead of accepting the statement that all of the fighting Bolsheviki are to be found on the "Ekaterinburg front," the newspaper correspondents would understand the situation better if they could realise that all Siberia, all Russia, is a "front." Our forces walked into that front when they stepped off the boats at Vladivostok. Ninety-five per cent. of the people in Siberia are Bolshevik.

Then why, you ask, do the Bolsheviki not rise up and resist openly? Because their methods are the really successful ones and fit their special conditions. If they were to consolidate their resistance in a great army, they would risk decisive defeat. So what do they do? Take the case of one of their earlier engagements with the Japanese. The attack was south of Habarovsk. It was significant that the Japanese took scarcely any prisoners. That was because a few of the Bolsheviki held back the Japanese, giving the main Russian force time to break up. Then, when the Japanese forces moved forward, they passed through the Bolsheviki army—without knowing it!—and actually asked it where it was!

What the Japanese force thought it saw was large numbers of badly dressed peasants, busily at work in the fields.

As this is being written the morning paper carries a London dispatch which reads: "It is reported from Omsk that the Bolsheviki have been retiring on the Orenburg front so rapidly that the Siberian armies in pursuit are unable to keep in touch. Bolshevik desertions continue. As an example, fifty miles south of Ufa a whole regiment of Bolshevik cavalry joined Kolchak's forces and turned their weapons on their former comrades."

Is this another case of allowing the pursuing army to pass through the army being pursued?

Does not "unable to keep in touch" mean that the vanishing army is repeating the trick it played on the Japanese? And that regiment of Bolsheviki which has turned its guns upon former comrades—a report on its marksmanship would be interesting. It is safer to go over to Kolchak than to be captured by him—safer to vanish in his army, to be concealed in the very ranks of the enemy and to be fed and clothed by him temporarily, than to stand up and fight.

The followers of Lenine and Trotsky argue that the Allies cannot remain in Russia for ever. So the Bolsheviki can afford to wait. Time is their ally.

[Reprinted from *Hearst's*.]

JAPAN BOYCOTTED.

"Bonsoir," June 24th, reports:—"The protest against the Paris Conference decision on Shantung assumes considerable proportions. The boycott of Japanese commerce is spreading over the whole Chinese territory and even beyond. The Chinese colonies of Singapore, the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, Java, the Hawaian Island and California are adhering strictly to it. The Japanese Press is exhibiting great uneasiness."

THE WHITLEY REPORT.

BEN TILLETT AND THE DOCKERS.

On July 2nd, Ben Tillett went to Poplar Town Hall to explain the Whitley Report to the dockers and urge their acceptance of the scheme. He began at 7 o'clock and talked to an almost empty hall till 7.30 when some of the dockers arrived and half-filled the hall. Tillett said that by joining in Whitley Councils the dockers would be able to force their employers to show their accounts and profits. There were many hostile interruptions. When the chairman asked for questions they came thick and fast. One man asked Tillett why the Government had presented him with a motor car and petrol to run it. Another said he had heard Tillett speaking in the Albert Hall with Horatio Bottomley against nationalisation: he declared that Tillett had changed his views and was now against the workers.

"We don't want Whitley Reports; we want a Soviet Government." "We want a revolution like in Russia."

"If the revolution came to-morrow which side would you be on?"

"Why he'd be with the capitalist!"

So the volley of interjection continued. Then someone said: "The miners don't bother with the Whitley Report, they use direct action! Tillett grew scarlet with rage! Ours is an older organisation than the Miners'. We used direct action long before the Miners' Federation was heard of!"

"What do you mean by voting against direct action at Southport?

"It's about time you was out of it!"

The chairman called the meeting to order. Mr. Tillett was not here to answer personal questions, but to explain the Whitley Report, ignoring the other questions. The chairman rather hurriedly closed the meeting. He and Tillett hasted from the platform.

The dockers ran down to catch Tillett in the Street but he had gone. The men gathered together discussing the proceedings and declaring that Tillett had betrayed them and that he was playing the capitalist game in trying to make them accept the Whitley Report.

THE REVOLUTIONARY REFLEX.

The One Big Union Monthly of U.S.A., one of the I.W.W. organs says:—

"The proletarian revolt in Europe has had its reflex in our organization work in this country. As the workers of Europe have become revolutionary, their fellow workers in America have responded in a large measure. As a result, four Russian, three Ukrainian and three Finnish Industrial Union branches have been organized, and a direct result of the Russian revolution is a movement for industrial organization among the Polish and Lithuanian workers. The Bulgarian upheavel has contributed to the establishing of a Bulgarian paper and a strong movement for the I.W.W. among these workers. The Hungarians have likewise awakened and have now a powerful Hungarian weekly and seven growing Hungarian branches. The Swedish workers are falling into line and the German Fellow Workers have started a campaign of organization among themselves. As the revolution grows in Europe, the movement for industrial freedom advances in this country, indicating that the economic industrial conditions peculiar to this land of highly developed machine production, have so ripened the workers that a mere spark from the revolution on the other side immediately stimulates organization so necessary to the final emancipation. In fact, a revolution in any part of the world helps the workers towards freedom in all parts of the world. Thus, the Chinese revolt had its reflex in a demand, by a Chinese organization in New York, for more industrial freedom and better conditions."

The I.W.W. prints in U.S.A. two weekly papers and a monthly in English and Italian, a Russian, a Spanish, a Bulgarian, a Hungarian and a Jewish paper. The Russian, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Jewish papers are those which showed a profit on April 1st. 1919.

JACK TANNER.—is Booking speaking engagements. North and east coast preferred, apply 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.

AN OPEN ARMY ORDER.

In Westphalia, Germany, there have recently been many strikes amongst the iron and steel workers. These strikes have spread to the factory workers; and naturally, have given the British military authorities and the employers some trouble. The following is quoted textually from the "Economic Supplement to the Review of the Foreign Press" of May 28, issued by the General Staff, War Office, and therefore there can be no question of inaccuracy involved. Comment is needless.

"British Authorities Ultimatum to Strikers.

"According to a telegram of May 3, from Cologne, the workers including those on piece work, in the factories of the Solingen industrial region demanded a new bonus of 20 per cent, to 50 per cent, refused the offers of the employers conceding two-thirds of their demands, and ceased work in most of the larger works. In consequence, a proclamation was issued by the British Commander of Sub-District 1, including Solingen and Hohscheid, to the following effect:

"The workers must resume work the next morning. All refusing to do so are liable to severe penalties. Negotiations as to wages must be commenced at once and be ended by May 5. If no arrangement is reached the British authorities will finally settle the wages.

"A similiar proclamation was issued for Sub-District 11."

Work was resumed. A.T.F.

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, JULY 11th.
Tower Hill—12 (noon) Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JULY 12th.
Great Push against conscription and Intervention in Russia and for a People's Peace in the St. Pancras district. Meet at 2.45 p.m. at 44 Malden Road (near Chalk Farm Tube Stn,) Meetings at 3 p.m. at Queens Crescent, and at 7 p.m. at Cobden Statue, (near Mornington Crescent Tube station.) Speakers: Mrs. Walker, Ph. Edmunds, G. C. Bhaduri (7 p.m. only) and J. H. Moore (7 p.m. only.)

SUNDAY, JULY 13th.
Osborn St., Whitechapel—11.45 a.m. Mrs. Walker and J. H. Moore.
Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m. Victor Beacham. Chair: Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, JULY 18th.
The Square, Woolwich—12 (noon) Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JULY 19th.
Great Push in Poplar and Bow.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, JULY 11th.
Chandos Hall—7.30 p.m. Vida Goldstein. Doors open at 7 p.m. (see advertisement) Chair: Sylvia Pankhurst.

MONDAY, JULY 14th.
20, Railway Street—7.30 p.m. W.S.F. business meeting. 8.30 p.m. Reading Circle.

FRIDAY, JULY 18th.
400, Old Ford Rd—General members' meeting (London Section.)

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, JULY 15th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall—3 p.m. Mrs. Fix.

THURSDAY, JULY 17th.
400, Old Ford Rd—7.30 p.m. East London Workers' Committee.
East London Hands Off Russia Committee.

SUNDAY, JULY 13th,
Lewisham Market Place, 1.30 p.m.

SUNDAY, JULY 20th,
Peckham Rye 7.30 p.m.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.
A Public Meeting will be held at
CHANDOS HALL, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.
FRIDAY, JULY 11, 19[illegible] at 7.30 p.m.
Doors open 7 p.m.
VIDA GOLDSTEIN (*just returned from Zurich*) on "The Situation in Australia" and "The Women's International Peace Congress in Zurich."
Chair - - Sylvia Pankhurst.
Admission by silver collection. Come early

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TIGHT BINDING.